

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9703

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

PARUEHDM/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS 1122

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEL AVIV 0273

BELGRADE FOR KRIZEK

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, IS, XF

SUBJ: PERES AND DAYAN MEET WITH CODEL MORGAN

SUMMARY: CODEL MORGAN RECEIVED MILITARY BRIEFING
EVENING

JAN 8 AT SESSION HOSTED BY DEFMIN PERES.

FOLLOWING BRIEFING PERES ANSWERED QUESTIONS, MOST OF
WHICH CONCERNED ISRAELI ATTITUDE TOWARD PALESTINIAN
PROBLEM. AT SUBSEQUENT DINNER MEETING, CODEL CONTINUED
WITH ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS ON PALESTINIAN ISSUE, AT
WHICH TIME PERES DEFERRED ON MOST QUESTIONS TO
FORMER DEFMIN MOSHE DAYAN. END SYMMARY.

1. DEFMIN SHIMON PERES HOSTED CODEL MORGAN EVENING OF JAN 8
FOR MILITARY BRIEFING FOLLOWED BY DINNER. AFTER FORMAL BRIEFING BY
CHIEF OF STAFF GUR, PERES FIELDDED QUESTIONS FROM CODEL. FOLLOWING
ARE POINTS MADE BY PERES IN HIS RESPONSES.

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2. PALESTINIAN PROBLEM-PERES SAID THERE ARE THREE ASPECTS TO THE

PROBLEM: 1) WITH WHOM TO NEGOTIATE; 2) ABOUT WHAT TO NEGOTIATE; AND 3) IN WHAT ORDER TO DEAL WITH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM. HE LISTED AS POSSIBLE NEGOTIATING PARTNERS JORDANIANS/AND ELECTED WEST BANK LEADERS. REGARDING WHAT TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT, PERES SAID ISRAEL HAS TWO OPTIONS: 1) DIVIDE THE LAND, AS FORMERLY; OR 2) DIVIDE THE GOVERNMENT TO FORM A TYPE OF FEDERATION. HE CLAIMED THAT DIVISION OF THE LAND IS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE OF THE ARABS ALREADY LIVING ON THE WEST BANK AS WELL AS THE JEWISH SETTLEMENTS WHICH ARE NOW THERE.

AS TO THE ORDER IN WHICH VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM SHOULD BE TACKLED, PERES OPTED FOR DEALING WITH THE REFUGEE ISSUE FIRST.

3. EFFECT OF RABAT CONFERENCE. WHEN CODEL POINTED OUT THAT RABAT CONFERENCE APPEARS TO HAVE ANSWERED THE QUESTION OF WHOM TO NEGOTIATE WITH, PERES SAID ISRAELIS ALSO HAVE A CHOICE. HE ADDED THAT AGREEING TO NEGOTIATE WITH PLO WOULD MEAN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RUSSIAN-DOMINATED STATE "BETWEEN AMMAN AND JERUSALEM". IN HIS OPINION IT IS BETTER TO BEAR THE HARDSHIP OF MAKING DIFFICULT EXPLANATIONS AT PRESENT THAN TO PAVE THE WAY FOR A TRAGEDY IN FUTURE.

4. US RECOGNITION OF THE PLO. POINTING TO THE PROGRESS MADE THUS FAR BY THE US IN MEDIATING AGREEMENTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT/SYRIA, PERES SAID THAT IF THE US WERE TO BEGIN DEALING WITH THE PLO ALL OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER PROGRESS WOULD CEASE.

5. SYRIA AND THE PLO. PERES SAID THAT SYRIA COULD CONTINUE WITH SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF THE PLO, POINTING OUT THAT IT HAD ALREADY DONE SO IN 1974 AND THAT IS, UNLIKE THE PLO, HAS AGREED TO GO TO GENEVA.

6. FEDERATION. ASKED TO EXPLAIN WHAT HE MEANT BY "FEDERATION" AS THE PREFERRED SUBJECT FOR NEGOTIATIONS, PERES REPLIED THAT CONCEPT IN HIS MIND WOULD REQUIRE THREE STAGES OF IMPLEMENTATION 1) ESTABLISHMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA (HE SAID THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE 16,000 LOCAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN THESE TERRITORIES ARE PALESTINIANS AND SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO GOVERN THEIR OWN DESTINIES); 2) FORMATION OF AUTONOMOUS (US-STYLE STATES IN EACH AREA, EACH WITH ITS OWN LEGISLATURE); 3) FORMATION OF AN ECONOMIC COMMON MARKET AMONG JORDAN, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE WEST BANK AND ISRAEL.

7. SYRIAN INTERVENTION IN LEBANON. PERES DEFERRED TO CHIEF OF MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SHLOMO GAZIT TO PRESENT ISRAELI ANALYSIS OF POSSIBILITY OF SYRIAN INTERVENTION IN LEBANON. GAZIT REPLIED THAT THE SYRIANS ARE CONSTRAINED BY THE FACT THAT LEBANON IS NOT THEIR TOP

FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITY AND BY THEIR UNCERTAINTY AS TO HOW REST OF

THE ARAB WORLD (NOT TO MENTION ISRAEL) WOULD REACT. GAZIT CONCLUDED THAT, ON BALANCE, SYRIAN FEARS ARE OVERRIDING, WHICH LEADS TO INDECISION; IN THE MEANTIME DAMASCUS CONTINUES TO POUR OIL ON THE FIRE.

8. AT DINNER FOLLOWING BRIEFING MOSHE DAYAN WAS SEATED AT HEAD TABLE AND, AT ENCOURAGEMENT OF PERES, ANSWERED ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS FROM CODEL. FOLLOWING ARE MAJOR POINTS MADE BY DAYAN DURING Q AND A SESSION.

9. NEGOTIATING WITH PLO. ASKED IF THE PLO SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN NEGOTIATIONS, DAYAN REPLIED THAT THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER ISRAEL SHOULD SIT WITH THE PLO BUT WHAT IS TO BE DISCUSSED. IF THE PLO WANTS A PALESTINIAN STATE, ISRAEL SHOULD NOT SIT WITH THEM; IF THEY DECIDE TO BE A PART OF JORDAN, "THEN I PERSONALLY

CAN SIT DOWN AND NEGOTIATE WITH THEM". AS REGARDS PALESTINIAN REFUGEES, DAYAN SAID THE PROBLEM IS THAT THEY DO NOT REALLY WANT TO SETTLE IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK. THEY WANT TO RETURN TO THEIR FORMER HOMES, WHICH ARE NOW IN ISRAEL. "THEY ARE 4 MILLION ARABS AND WE ARE 3 MILLION JEWS....WHERE WILL WE ALL GO?"

10. PLO MODERATE ELEMENTS. CODEL ASKED FOR ISRAELI REACTION TO SADAT OBSERVATION (MADE WHILE CODEL WAS IN EGYPT) THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE SUPPORTING THE MORE MODERATE ELEMENTS IN THE PLO, I.E., ARAFAT. DAYAN AGREED THAT THERE ARE OTHERS IN THE PLO "MORE EXTREME" THAN ARAFAT, BUT THAT THE QUESTION IS WHAT ARAFAT REALLY WANTS. DAYAN REFERRED TO JAN 7 STATEMENT BY ARAFAT THAT EVEN IF HE REGAINED THE WEST BANK, HE WOULD STILL WANT THE REST OF PALESTINE. DAYAN CONCLUDED THAT EVEN ARAFAT IS ASKING THAT ISRAEL CEASE TO EXIST AND BE REPLACED BY A "JEWISH COMMUNITY" IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO ISRAEL WHICH IS, AND INTENDS TO REMAIN, A JEWISH STATE. (DAYAN MADE SAME POINTS IN JAN 6 TELEVISION CONFIDENTIAL

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INTERVIEW PROGRAM WHICH RECEIVED CONSIDERABLE LOCAL ATTENTION AS HIS FIRST MAJOR TV APPEARANCE SINCE STEPPING DOWN FROM DEFENSE MINISTRY POST IN JUNE, 1974).
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